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*Beiträge zur Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition im sechzehnten Jahrhundert.* Nach den Originalakten in Madrid und Simancas bearbeitet, von DR. ERNST SCHÄFER. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1902. Three vols., pp. xvi, 458; iv, 426; iv, 868.)

THE infinite historical wealth of the Spanish archives is gradually being utilized, but rather by foreign than by native scholars. Liberal as the government has been in throwing them open to seekers after knowledge, the vast masses of documents seem to exercise a paralyzing influence. The papers connected with the Inquisition alone are enough almost to benumb ambition. Don J. T. Medina, of Chile, is the only one of Spanish race who has sought to penetrate systematically into their secrets, and he has made good use of the results in elucidating the activity of the Holy Office in South America. In a more desultory fashion Padre Boronat and Don Manuel Danvila y Collado have used the archives to illustrate the history of the Moriscos, and Don Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo that of the heretics; Don Manuel Serrano y Sanz has also done good work of late in printing and analyzing documents illustrative of the early prosecutions of Illuminism and Mysticism; but it is to a learned German that we owe an illuminating view of one brief episode in the career of that institution, drawn from an exhaustive examination of the original documents.

The sudden development of so-called Lutheranism in Seville and Valladolid in the sixth decade of the sixteenth century and its prompt and stern repression have elicited an amount of attention on the part of Protestant writers vastly disproportionate to the real importance of the matter. It suited, at the time, the interest of the government and of the Inquisition to exaggerate the danger to the faith, and sympathizing historians have accepted and augmented these exaggerations, while indulging in exuberant rhetoric over the so-called martyrs. Dr. Schäfer has rendered a real service by searching among the records for such documents as remain concerning these events; he has studied them in every detail with true German thoroughness; and, while not concealing his personal sympathies as a Protestant, he has presented the facts in the clear, dry light of history. Before a scientific investigation such as this the legends of Gonzalez de Montes, transmitted by Llorente to McCrie and succeeding writers, shrivel into their proper proportions.

In his first volume Dr. Schäfer gives a sketch of the procedure of the Inquisition, followed by a clear and detailed account of the two little Protestant conventicles of Seville and Valladolid, which were discovered in 1857 and 1858. For these his materials are drawn almost exclusively from the records which he prints in the second and third volumes, partly in full and partly in abstract. His portion of the work is pervaded by a thoroughly sane and scientific spirit, while ample references are given to the documents on which the statements are based. Possibly a more extended acquaintance with the operations of the Inquisition might have

led him to entertain a more unfavorable conception of its methods and to judge it less leniently, but, if he errs, it is on the right side, and his work will serve to correct some of the exaggerated notions popularly current. Similarly, his account of the persecution itself and of its unfortunate victims will dispel many illusions. The latter were neither so numerous nor such martyrs as they have been represented. The number of Spaniards involved in it, more or less infected with Lutheran heresies, did not exceed two hundred in all. For the most part their convictions were but lukewarm; almost without exception, when on trial they commenced by denying their faith, and ended by abjuring it, while they cheerfully denounced and gave evidence against their associates, in the hope of winning the favor of their judges. It is true that quite a number who confessed and recanted were executed, in virtue of a special papal brief authorizing the denial of mercy to those who sought reconciliation to the Church, but the sum total of real martyrs who steadfastly adhered to their faith can almost be counted upon the fingers of one hand. The relations of the autos de fe are somewhat obscure upon this point; recantation, even at the last moment, earned the privilege of being garroted before the fagots were lighted, and few there were whose convictions and moral fiber could endure the awful strain. Abbot Illescas, a contemporary, tells us that in the successive autos de fe at Seville there were forty or fifty Lutherans put to death, of whom four or five suffered themselves to be burned alive. Comparing this with the simple record of the Scillitan Martyrs or with the eagerness of the medieval Cathari to be burned, one cannot fail to recognize that the Lutheranism of the sufferers was mostly of no very ardent nature.

The scientific character of Dr. Schäfer's labors suffers somewhat from the necessity which he seems to have felt of assuming a polemical attitude towards Pastor Fliedner and others who still insist on the magnitude of the Protestant movement and the self-devotion of its partakers. This was wholly superfluous, for Dr. Schäfer's facts speak for themselves and are unassailable. It has moreover led him to the unfortunate mistake of presenting his documentary proofs, not in the original, but in a German translation. This has involved no trifling labor, the reason alleged for which is that a knowledge of Spanish is not common in Germany, and he desires evidently that all his readers may be able to verify his assertions, overlooking the danger that his opponents may call in question the accuracy of his translations. Apart from all this, all scholars want to have the *ipsissima verba* and there is a natural hesitation in relying upon what has passed through another mind. From such opportunity as I have had of comparing Dr. Schäfer's versions with the original documents, I have full faith in the fidelity of his work, but when a conclusion is to be drawn from some delicate shade of meaning one likes to feel sure that nothing has been unconsciously lost in the rendering into a wholly different idiom. This, however, detracts but little from the value of a work which will remain a necessary source for all who treat of this phase of the Reformation.

Dr. Schäfer has confined himself so rigidly to the limits of his title-page — the history of Spanish Protestantism in the sixteenth century — that he has refrained from an exposition of its most important feature — the influence which its appearance and repression exerted on the fortunes of Spain. It came when the Inquisition was in a decadent condition. Valdes, the wretched inquisitor-general, was discredited and on the point of disgrace. The spectre of Protestantism not only saved him, but enabled him adroitly to secure for the Inquisition a power and an assured financial position which it had never before enjoyed. No one who soberly reviews the religious condition of Spain at the period can imagine that the little band of Protestants could have exerted any important or lasting influence or have given rise to any serious trouble, but the alarm which was sedulously spread gave to the Inquisition the opportunity of posing as the savior of society and led to the adoption of a rigorous policy of non-intercourse with neighboring nations which contributed largely to the intellectual and commercial stagnation of Spain and conserved its medievalism up to the period of the Revolution. This is the lesson to be drawn from the dismal story, and it is this which invests the transient appearance of Protestantism with its only real importance.

HENRY CHARLES LEA.

*The Merchant Adventurers of England. Their Laws and Ordinances, with other Documents.* BY W. E. LINGELBACH, PH.D. [Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History. Second Series. Vol. II.] (Philadelphia: Published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1902. Pp. xxxix, 260.)

THIS publication is a significant contribution to the history of the Merchant Adventurers Company. The bulk of the work is taken up with a reprint of the Laws and Ordinances of the fellowship from the only copy known to be extant, a manuscript folio in the British Museum. Of the remaining documents, some are already in print, but their rarity or illustrative importance justify their inclusion in the present collection. The preface and the brief introduction indicate the present status of investigation on the subject, and present a meaty and scholarly account of the history and organization of the company. It is refreshing to note that we are told in a frank and straightforward fashion just what is known and what is not. Dr. Lingelbach's general conclusions are that the views of ordinary writers, particularly as regards the origin of the company as a corporate body, do not altogether accord with the facts, and that its activity was wider and of longer duration than is generally supposed. Although considerable material has been brought to light in recent years, much remains obscure because the private records of the company have not been found, and because so little attention has been paid to its history from the close of the seventeenth century, after it lost its English monopoly and transferred the center of its operations to Hamburg. On the latter point Dr. Lingelbach himself supplies new information.